1

**PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT**

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

ALBERTA'S MÉTIS AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM:
THE POLITICS OF EMPOWERING MINORITY STUDENTS
THROUGH MAINSTREAM EDUCATION

by

JAMES MCSORLEY

**A Master's Thesis submitted to the department of Political Science in partial
fulfillment of requirements for the degree of
Master's of Arts**

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

February, 1995

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

**THE AUTHOR HAS GRANTED AN
IRREVOCABLE NON-EXCLUSIVE
LICENCE ALLOWING THE NATIONAL
LIBRARY OF CANADA TO
REPRODUCE, LOAN, DISTRIBUTE OR
SELL COPIES OF HIS/HER THESIS BY
ANY MEANS AND IN ANY FORM OR
FORMAT, MAKING THIS THESIS
AVAILABLE TO INTERESTED
PERSONS.**

**L'AUTEUR A ACCORDE UNE LICENCE
IRREVOCABLE ET NON EXCLUSIVE
PERMETTANT A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE
NATIONALE DU CANADA DE
REPRODUIRE, PRETER, DISTRIBUER
OU VENDRE DES COPIES DE SA
THESE DE QUELQUE MANIERE ET
SOUS QUELQUE FORME QUE CE SOIT
POUR METTRE DES EXEMPLAIRES DE
CETTE THESE A LA DISPOSITION DES
PERSONNE INTERESSEES.**

**THE AUTHOR RETAINS OWNERSHIP
OF THE COPYRIGHT IN HIS/HER
THESIS. NEITHER THE THESIS NOR
SUBSTANTIAL EXTRACTS FROM IT
MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE
REPRODUCED WITHOUT HIS/HER
PERMISSION.**

**L'AUTEUR CONSERVE LA PROPRIETE
DU DROIT D'AUTEUR QUI PROTEGE
SA THESE. NI LA THESE NI DES
EXTRAITS SUBSTANTIELS DE CELLE-
CI NE DOIVENT ETRE IMPRIMES OU
AUTREMENT REPRODUITS SANS SON
AUTORISATION.**

ISBN 0-612-02992-1

Canada

Name William Joseph L. Sorkin

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

Cultural Communication

U·M·I

SUBJECT TERM

SUBJECT CODE

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

Architecture 0729
Art History 0377
Cinema 0900
Dance 0378
Fine Arts 0357
Information Science 0723
Journalism 0391
Library Science 0399
Mass Communications 0708
Music 0413
Speech Communication 0459
Theater 0465

EDUCATION

General 0515
Administration 0514
Adult and Continuing 0516
Agricultural 0517
Art 0273
Bilingual and Multicultural 0282
Business 0688
Community College 0275
Curriculum and Instruction 0727
Early Childhood 0518
Elementary 0524
Finance 0277
Guidance and Counseling 0519
Health 0680
Higher 0745
History of 0520
Home Economics 0278
Industrial 0521
Language and Literature 0279
Mathematics 0280
Music 0522
Philosophy of 0998
Physical 0523

Psychology 0525
Reading 0535
Religious 0527
Sciences 0714
Secondary 0533
Social Sciences 0534
Sociology of 0340
Special 0529
Teacher Training 0530
Technology 0710
Tests and Measurements 0288
Vocational 0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

Language 0679
General 0289
Ancient 0290
Linguistics 0291
Modern
Literature 0401
General 0294
Classical 0295
Comparative 0297
Medieval 0298
Modern 0316
African 0591
American 0305
Asian 0352
Canadian (English) 0355
Canadian (French) 0593
English 0311
Germanic 0312
Latin American 0315
Middle Eastern 0313
Romance 0314
Slavic and East European

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Philosophy 0422
Religion 0318
General 0321
Biblical Studies 0319
Clergy 0320
History of 0322
Philosophy of 0469
Theology

SOCIAL SCIENCES

American Studies 0323
Anthropology 0324
Archaeology 0326
Cultural 0327
Physical
Business Administration 0310
General 0272
Accounting 0770
Banking 0454
Management 0338
Marketing 0385
Canadian Studies
Economics 0501
General 0503
Agricultural 0505
Commerce Business 0508
Finance 0509
History 0510
Labor 0511
Theory 0358
Folklore 0366
Geography 0351
Gerontology
History General 0578

Ancient 0579
Medieval 0581
Modern 0582
Black 0328
African 0331
Asia, Australia and Oceania 0332
Canadian 0334
European 0335
Latin American 0336
Middle Eastern 0333
United States 0337
History of Science 0585
Law 0398
Political Science
General 0615
International Law and Relations 0616
Public Administration 0617
Recreation 0814
Social Work 0452
Sociology
General 0626
Criminology and Penology 0627
Demography 0938
Ethnic and Racial Studies 0631
Individual and Family Studies 0628
Industrial and Labor Relations 0629
Public and Social Welfare 0630
Social Structure and Development 0700
Theory and Methods 0344
Transportation 0709
Urban and Regional Planning 0999
Women's Studies 0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Agriculture 0473
General 0285
Agronomy
Animal Culture and Nutrition 0475
Animal Pathology 0476
Food Science and Technology 0359
Forestry and Wildlife 0478
Plant Culture 0479
Plant Pathology 0480
Plant Physiology 0817
Range Management 0777
Wood Technology 0746
Biology
General 0306
Anatomy 0247
Biostatistics 0308
Botany 0309
Cell 0379
Ecology 0329
Entomology 0353
Genetics 0369
Limnology 0793
Microbiology 0410
Molecular 0307
Neuroscience 0317
Oceanography 0416
Physiology 0433
Radiation 0821
Veterinary Science 0778
Zoology 0472
Biophysics
General 0786
Medical 0760

EARTH SCIENCES

Biogeochemistry 0425
Geochemistry 0906

Geodesy 0370
Geology 0372
Geophysics 0373
Hydrology 0388
Mineralogy 0411
Paleobotany 0345
Paleoecology 0426
Paleontology 0418
Paleozoology 0985
Polynology 0427
Physical Geography 0368
Physical Oceanography 0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

Environmental Sciences 0768
Health Sciences
General 0566
Audiology 0300
Chemotherapy 0992
Dentistry 0567
Education 0350
Hospital Management 0769
Human Development 0758
Immunology 0982
Medicine and Surgery 0564
Mental Health 0347
Nursing 0569
Nutrition 0570
Obstetrics and Gynecology 0380
Occupational Health and Therapy 0354
Ophthalmology 0381
Pathology 0571
Pharmacology 0419
Pharmacy 0572
Physical Therapy 0382
Public Health 0573
Radiology 0574
Recreation 0575

Speech Pathology 0460
Toxicology 0383
Home Economics 0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences

Chemistry
General 0485
Agricultural 0749
Analytical 0486
Biochemistry 0487
Inorganic 0488
Nuclear 0738
Organic 0490
Pharmaceutical 0491
Physical 0494
Polymer 0495
Radiation 0754
Mathematics 0405
Physics
General 0605
Acoustics 0986
Astronomy and Astrophysics 0606
Atmospheric Science 0608
Atomic 0748
Electronics and Electricity 0607
Elementary Particles and High Energy 0798
Fluid and Plasma 0759
Molecular 0609
Nuclear 0610
Optics 0752
Radiation 0736
Solid State 0611
Statistics 0463

Applied Sciences

Applied Mechanics 0346
Computer Science 0984

Engineering
General 0537
Aerospace 0538
Agricultural 0539
Automotive 0540
Biomedical 0541
Chemical 0542
Civil 0543
Electronics and Electrical 0544
Heat and Thermodynamics 0348
Hydraulic 0545
Industrial 0546
Marine 0547
Materials Science 0794
Mechanical 0548
Metallurgy 0743
Mining 0551
Nuclear 0552
Packaging 0549
Petroleum 0765
Sanitary and Municipal System Science 0790
Geotechnology 0428
Operations Research 0796
Plastics Technology 0795
Textile Technology 0994

PSYCHOLOGY

General 0621
Behavioral 0384
Clinical 0622
Developmental 0620
Experimental 0623
Industrial 0624
Personality 0625
Physiological 0989
Psychobiology 0349
Psychometrics 0632
Social 0451

The undersigned hereby recommend to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
acceptance of the thesis,

**ALBERTA'S METIS AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM:
THE POLITICS OF EMPOWERING MINORITY STUDENTS THROUGH
MAINSTREAM EDUCATION**

submitted by

James McSorley, B.A. Hons.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts

Chair, Department of Political Science

Thesis Supervisor

Carleton University
February 10, 1995

February 20, 1995.

ABSTRACT OF JAMES MCSORLEY; M.A. Thesis:

Alberta's Métis and Educational Reform: The Politics of Empowering Minority Students Through Mainstream Education

In this study, the author examines the political process that occurs when minority communities attempt to gain access into the governance structures of mainstream education. Focussing on the efforts of the Métis Nations of Alberta, this study examines the educational needs minority communities have and the strategies that are employed to make mainstream education a tool of empowerment for minority communities. As well, this study examines the policy positions the government of Alberta holds on minority education. The conclusions of the study suggest that, while the Alberta Métis have made meaningful progress in their attempts to gain better access into the structures of educational governance, new windows into government must be created if the Métis hope to reach their ultimate educational objectives.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Chapter 2. Politics, Education, and Canada's Aboriginal Communities	13
Chapter 3. Native Education and Canada's Provinces	36
Chapter 4. The Metis Nations of Alberta: The Politics of Influencing Mainstream Education	59
Chapter 5. Conclusion	86

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figures:</u>	<u>Page</u>
Figure 2.1: Strategy for Minority Student Empowerment	33
Figure 4.1: Educational Goals and Strategies of the M.N.A.	67

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Similar to Métis communities nation-wide, Alberta's Métis community has little influence over the school system responsible for educating its children. Enrolled largely in public schools controlled by the Province, the children of Métis communities have been subjected to an education regimen that does not adequately recognize the Métis community and the contribution the Métis have made to the development of western Canadian society. While they may participate in educational governance like other citizens of Alberta, the Métis have received insufficient representation in Alberta's system of educational governance as a group. Without a stronger voice in educational governance, Alberta's Métis cannot transform the province's mainstream education system into a tool of empowerment capable of strengthening the Métis cultural identity.

Mainstream education systems are capable of either empowering or disabling minority groups. Failing to consider minority cultures in the formation of mainstream education allows education to become a potential threat to the culture of minority groups. Conversely, minority communities who gain access

to the norms of mainstream education can challenge the dominant paradigms that are used to define them as well as the larger society. In the latter case, mainstream education can empower minority communities and become an important vehicle for strengthening community culture and political identity. While important differences exist between disabling educational systems, one commonality is the fact that, "disabling educational programs ignore and attempt to eradicate the knowledge and strengths students bring, and replace them with those of the dominant society" (Sleeter, 1991:5). Transforming mainstream education into a tool of empowerment is the challenge facing Alberta's Métis community.

Being the largest Aboriginal community in Alberta, and a significantly large ethnic group overall, this study contends that the Alberta Métis are entitled to some formalized means by which they could better influence the educational decision making process. At present, "Métis people are proportionately underrepresented at all levels of the school system" (Davis, 1986:34). The central purpose of this thesis is to examine the political process that surrounds

Métis education in Alberta and develop a comprehensive understanding of the strategies minority communities can employ to transform mainstream education into a source of empowerment.

In order to approach the question of how the Métis can use mainstream education to strengthen their cultural identity, this thesis must address three questions. First, what form must mainstream education take to become a source of empowerment for minority communities? Second, what is the political reality in which Alberta's Métis struggle to modify public education? Third, what political strategies have been most successful in helping Alberta's Métis achieve their educational goals? This thesis will not attempt to assess the objective value of provincial education practices, nor will it try to evaluate the potential harm such education can cause in Métis communities. The issue this thesis deals with is educational control, rather than quality. Indeed, as Longboat points out in discussing First Nations control over education; "even if the federal and provincial educational systems were to meet the needs of First Nations, the question of the right to control would remain" (Longboat, 1987:23).

As an introduction, the balance of chapter one provides a brief discussion of Métis political identity both across Canada and in Alberta. Chapter two begins with a discussion of the political importance education holds for Native communities. Community controlled education is viewed by Native groups as an important part of continuing the political rejuvenation Aboriginal communities have experienced in recent decades. As well, chapter two details the conditions necessary for mainstream education to become a source of empowerment for minority communities. Chapter three outlines a brief history of Native education in Canada. The history of Native education in Canada is analyzed as the history of a colonial education system, with an overall goal of assimilating Native communities into the dominant Euro- Canadian society. This study emphasizes the role Canadian provinces have played in creating and disseminating an education system designed to assimilate Canada's Aboriginal communities. Chapter four examines the educational goals and strategies for change in education policy that the Métis Nations of Alberta utilize. The chapter will provide an assessment of those strategies, as well as an examination of the

political context in which the Métis Nations of Alberta pursue their educational agenda. Chapter five explores the conclusions of this study, and discusses strategies and directions for the future.

Before discussing the political nature of education and examining the pedagogical needs of minority students, it is first necessary to provide a discussion of the cultural and political identity of Canada's Métis, and detail the evolution of their identity from the original Red River settlements to the present.

Who Are The Métis

Through the use of widely dissimilar criteria, various Native and non-Native organizations have suggested that there are, "as many as 3,000,000 or as few as 80,000 Métis in Canada" (Boisvert and Turnbull, 1992:109). Indeed, while the 1981 Canadian census reported that just over 98,000 Métis lived in Canada, the Native Council of Canada estimates that nearly one million Métis exist in Canada today (Ibid, 1992:110). Without obvious criteria available to determine what constitutes Métis ethnicity, even rival Métis national

organizations continue to disagree over the criteria that should be adopted to determine Métis national membership¹. To better understand the issues of Métis identity, it is necessary to discuss the history from which Canada's Métis communities emerged as well as the present form the Métis political identity has assumed.

In its most broad meaning, "Métis is a French word used to describe a person of mixed Indian and European ancestry" (Ibid, 1992:109). As early as the mid eighteenth century, significant numbers of such individuals existed in eastern Canada. Furthermore, Métis populations emerged in every region touched by the fur trade, to include, "the St. Lawrence drainage basin, the Great Lakes region of what is today the United States, the Hudson Bay area, and finally the Northwest" (Ibid, 1992:113). However, only during the final expansion of the fur trade, in the Canadian Northwest, did a population of Métis emerge that was politically and culturally distinct from neighbouring white and Native communities. While

¹. The Native Council of Canada, representing large numbers of non-status Indians, defines Métis biologically, as persons of mixed Indian and non-Indian ancestry. The Métis National Council, composed more of descendants of the original Métis settlements in the Northwest, defines Métis as individuals who were descendants of the original Métis settlement in Red River. For a complete discussion, please see C. Chartier. 1988. In The Best Interest of the Métis Child. Regina: University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre.

there were individuals with the ethnic characteristics of the Métis scattered across the continent at this time, they tended to be integrated into neighbouring white or Native communities. Conversely, "it was on the plains of western Canada in the late eighteenth century that the Métis nationality developed" (Charlier, 1988:9).

The Métis community that developed throughout the nineteenth century around present- day Winnipeg perceived itself as a 'new nation', and produced a political history and cultural practices distinct from neighbouring white and Native communities. Culturally, the Métis of the Red River region developed their own language and social norms, largely based upon "a synthesis of Indian and European cultures" (Boisvert and Turnbull, 1992:112). Politically, the history of the Métis nation began in 1816, with the battle of Seven Oaks. Led by Cuthbert Grant, the Métis from a settlement near the Red and Assiniboine rivers resisted a caravan of white settlers, driving them off Métis occupied land (Douard, 1983:73). Decades later, Louis Riel led the armed resistance of 1870 at Red River and the North- West Rebellion of 1885 at Batoche (present day Saskatchewan). Both failed uprisings were aimed at securing a land base for

various communities within the Métis nation. The failure of the North- West Rebellion, coupled with the execution of Riel, the disappearance of Métis hunting stock, and increased immigration from eastern Canada continued to disperse Métis communities north and west. By the end of the nineteenth century, "the Métis virtually ceased to exist as an identifiable ethnic group,... and became an economically depressed substratum identified as non- status Indians" (Kienetz, 1988:14).

Never united as a single people, the initial Red River settlement featured two distinct classes of 'mixed- blood' individuals. Divided along linguistic and religious lines, "the Métis were the offspring of French Canadians and Indian wives; the 'country born' were the descendants of English or Scottish and Indian marriages" (Miller, 1989:126). Since its collapse as a significant political force in western Canada and its political reemergence in the middle part of the twentieth century, the cultural character of Canada's Métis community has been recreated with less emphasis on the Euro- Canadian cultures that contributed to its emergence. The recreated political identity Canada's Métis nation developed

in the 1960's attempted to portray itself more as, "one of the triad of Native peoples, together with the Indians and Inuit, with the French connection nearly gone" (Kienetz, 1988:14). Best understood as existing on a continuum between 'indian' and 'white', the present political identity and culture of Canada's Métis has multiple cultural embodiments that vary among Métis individuals and communities alike. Accordingly, while some Métis communities and individuals are more 'Indian', there are also those that are more 'white'.

In a general sense, Canada's Métis are usually categorized by the degree to which they have adopted either euro- Canadian or status- Indian culture. For Douard, the four largest categories of Métis include those groups that are:

(a) integrated: those Métis who had settled definitively and had successfully adapted to euro- Canadian culture; (b) living on the fringe of white settlements: wandering from job to job and destitute; (c) living on the fringe of reservations; (d) living in small isolated communities: this group best preserved the traditional Métis identity. (Douard, 1983:76).

Clearly, attempts at creating a single political identity among such a diversity of individuals is a problematic task. While national level Métis organizations have already demonstrated the difficulty involved with building a consensus on Métis identity, similar cleavages exist at more local levels. Using the Métis community

of Alberta as an example, it is clear that they share similar problems defining the identity of their political community. As the most populous group of Native Canadians in the province, there is great diversity within the community. Indeed, important cleavages exist in terms of language spoken (Cree, French, and English), religion (Catholic and Protestant), and geography (urban or rural, north or south) (Pentan, 1993). While Alberta's self-identifying Métis may share a subjective sense of belonging to a Métis cultural heritage, defining the common objective manifestations such a culture may include is a far more difficult task.

The diversity that exists within Canada's Métis population, and the difficulty associated with attempting to define a single Métis political culture may describe Alberta's Métis better than the Métis of any other province. On the one hand, Alberta has a significant proportion of individuals in the northern part of the province pursuing a more traditional Métis lifestyle on a number of settlements the province has granted its Métis population. Through the passing of the Métis Settlement Act of 1939, the only Métis land base in Canada was established in the northern part of the province. To this day, "there are still eight

Métis colonies in Alberta, representing an area of 1.24 million acres reserved for Métis, upon which 4,000 of the province's estimated 30,000 live' (Boisvert and Turnbull, 1992:138). At the same time, many of Alberta's Métis population live in urban centres, and have been assimilated into the dominant society. Simply stated, the political identity of Alberta's Métis is far from homogeneous. More importantly, however, the degree of diversity exhibited by Alberta's Métis population has important implications for the current study.

The cultural reality of Alberta's Métis community has two important implications for this study. First, the educational goals and needs of Alberta's Métis will reflect the cultural diversity and multiple lifestyles present within the community. The fact that many Alberta Métis have been integrated into the urban centres of mainstream society suggests that comparing the educational goals or achievements of Alberta's Métis to those of Canada's First Nations would be unfair and unfruitful. While some Métis may demand separate Métis controlled schools, other members of Alberta Métis simply want their community's contribution to the development of Western Canada better

recognized. Ultimately, the diversity within the community leads to educational strategies less ambitious than those adopted by First Nations. Second, due to the heterogeneity that exists within the community, choices had to be made in terms of how Alberta's Métis community would be represented.

This study has chosen to examine the educational policy pursuits of Alberta's largest Métis organization, the Métis Nations of Alberta. While the M.N.A. does not speak for all of Alberta's Métis², it is the largest Métis organization in Alberta with a department exclusively dedicated to education and the most easily observable Métis political manifestation in the province. Bearing in mind the limits this places on the current research, this study proceeds with an examination of the political importance education holds for Canada's Native communities.

² . Most notably, the M.N.A. does not represent all 4,000 inhabitants of the eight Métis settlements in Northern Alberta. Representing roughly one- sixth of Alberta's Métis population, this group is represented by the Métis Settlements Association of Alberta. At present, however, students from such settlements are also enrolled in provincial schools.

CHAPTER 2
POLITICS, EDUCATION,
AND CANADA'S ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

For several centuries, Native education in Canada "has worked as an agent of colonial subjugation with the longterm objective of weakening Indian Nations by causing the children to lose sight of their identities, history, and spiritual knowledge" (Longboat, 1987:23). Furthermore, the legacy of Native education has facilitated the deterioration of Native language use throughout Canada. As a result, Canada's Aboriginal communities have consistently sought to politicize the issue of education and have made Native control over Native education a priority. Beginning with the 1972 policy statement "Indian Control of Indian Education", and continuing with the Assembly of First Nation's more recent study entitled "Tradition and Education", Canada's Aboriginal communities have always perceived educational control as an important means to controlling and strengthening their cultural and political identity. This chapter will provide a discussion of the political importance education holds for Aboriginal

communities, as well as the form mainstream education must take to be an empowering experience for Canada's Native communities.

More specifically, chapter two will address two important issues. First, an examination of the political nature of education will be considered. This study will argue that Canada's Native communities consider controlling education a necessary step towards controlling and rejuvenating their political identity. Second, this chapter will discuss the form mainstream education must assume in order for it to be transformed into a tool of empowerment. Left unchallenged, mainstream education is capable of reproducing and reinforcing existing social and economic inequalities. Through the introduction of comprehensive multicultural education, mainstream education can become a means of empowerment for minority students. Before presenting a model of an empowering mainstream education system, this study will first examine the political importance education holds for Canada's Aboriginal communities.

Education and Political Identity

The central goal Native communities hope to achieve through educational control is the ability to redesignate and control their political identity. The issue of educational control is central to the struggle to control political identity because "indigenous people see educational institutions as the sites for constructing or reconstructing their political reality" (Jordan, 1986:261). Thus, educational control is an inherently political issue for Native communities because "indigenous people's claims to control education are claims to control the construction of identity" (Ibid: 261). For Canada's Aboriginal communities, part of an overall strategy to control their political identity includes the use of educational institutions to create and disseminate a new political discourse of their own design.

In the past, Aboriginal communities have been victimized by the process of "outside- naming". In Canada, this act has been realized through "the process of attaching settler, mainly English names to describe various groupings of Aboriginal people" (Chartrand, 1991:2). For example, Canadian Aboriginals

have been classified as "Status or non-Status, Registered or non- Registered, and Treaty or non- Treaty" (Sawchuk, 1992a:1). Furthermore, even the present Aboriginal political structures of band government and chief are of foreign construction, meant to "standardize the local governments of the various Indian communities across Canada" (Sawchuk, 1992b:83). The imposition of foreign classifications and political structures has seriously obstructed Canada's Aboriginal communities from realizing their ultimate goal of total self-determination. Indeed, Sawchuk contends that

a measure of an ethnic group's powerlessness and the relative extent of its domination by the larger society surrounding it is the ease with which a foreign or inappropriate identity can be imposed on it for political expediency or other reasons (Sawchuck, 1992b:70).

Losing control over their political identity has weakened Canadian Aboriginal communities across Canada in two important ways. First, foreign political meanings and structures have served to fragment political coalitions within Canada's greater Aboriginal community. For example, the political coalition between some Métis and non- Status Indians communities was broken when the Métis received preferred constitutional status in 1982. As a

consequence, "this long standing alliance has now been broken, and Métis and non- Status Indians have already formed two distinct political organizations" (Ibid, 1992b:72). All such specific fractures serve to weaken the overall political strength of Canada's Aboriginal communities. Second, the imposition of outside political structures have served to delegitimize pre- existing Aboriginal social and political structures. In this regard, education has played a leading role as "education controlled by the Canadian Government has worked at cross- purposes with the goals and ideas of the Indian Nations... politically, by seeking to undermine the authority of traditional governments" (Longboat, 1987:23). Taken in total, the political identities imposed upon Canada's Native communities worked internally to hinder their ability to unite into stronger political units while externally delegitimizing their society to Canada's greater political community.

As a strategic response to the foreign classifications that have divided and victimized them, "Aboriginal peoples have revitalized their own national discourse, which had fallen into disuse for several decades" (Jenson, 1992:9). In fact, the past three decades have witnessed Canada's Native communities make

substantial progress in their struggle to incorporate a 'Native designed' public discourse into Canada's political vocabulary. Such a discursive transition is evidenced by the terms of reference used in recent government publications such as the Penner Report on Indian Self- Government (1983) and the Coolican Report on Comprehensive Land claims (1986). In both cases, the text of these reports are considered to be "exemplars in the new paradigm of Indian policy because they broke new ground in conceptualizing Indian issues, and in setting new standards for analyzing the relationship between the state and First Nations" (Weaver, 1990:210). With particular reference to the Penner Report, it is important to note that "its most striking quality is its explicit incorporation of the terminology used by Indians to describe themselves" (Ibid, 1990:217). For more recent evidence of the discursive shift that is underway between the Canadian state and Canada's Natives, one need look no further than the Charlottetown Accord of 1992.

Though defeated through popular referendum, the Accord marked the first time that the legal recognition of First Nations right to self- government would be

recognized by both the federal and provincial governments. Within the Canada

Clause, the Constitution of Canada was prepared to recognize the fact that

the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, being the first peoples to govern this land, have the right to promote their languages, cultures, and traditions and to ensure the integrity of their societies, and their governments constitute one of three orders of government in Canada (Canada, 1992:1).

The defeat of the Charlottetown Accord did not erase the gains made by

Canada's Aboriginals during the most recent round of constitutional negotiations.

Similarly, the fact that the Penner report was not implemented by the Federal government does not mean that the political actions of Canada's Aboriginals have failed. Rather, the inability of actions to keep pace with words is a temporary condition resulting from "the co-existence of old and new paradigms and the continuing tension between them, as the old ways of thinking gradually give way to the new" (Weaver, 1990:210). Despite some political setbacks, Canada's Aboriginal communities have managed to regain control of their political identity and have introduced a Native- based discourse into Canada's political vocabulary. For Canada's Native communities, the education system will play a large part in maintaining and strengthening this new political identity.

For many Aboriginal communities, "gaining control over education is a means of regaining control over a nation's survival as a distinct people" (Longboat, 1987:23). Few would debate the fact that education is perceived by Aboriginal communities as a political tool capable of reinforcing the new political identity and discourse. What remains contentious, however, is the form and content education must have in order to be a political tool capable of empowering Native communities. Naturally, different Native communities are educated in different educational institutions and have different priorities for their respective educational institutions. The Native community at the centre of the present research, the Métis of Alberta, are largely enrolled in provincial schools and are exposed to the province's mainstream curriculum. As a result, this study will focus upon the characteristics of mainstream education and the conditions necessary to transform mainstream education into an empowering experience for Métis students.

Education and Reproduction

Education systems do not disseminate neutral knowledge. Indeed, the process of selecting such knowledge requires that a society define itself by

articulating what should count as knowledge, what knowledge is of the greatest worth, and who shall control the selection and distribution of knowledge.

(Apple, 1988:5). Any knowledge that does become part of an education system represents, "a choice from a much larger universe of possible social knowledge and principles... and is a form of cultural capital that often reflects the perspectives and beliefs of powerful segments of our social collectivity" (Apple, 1981:117). As a result, an education system that exclusively accommodates the demands of dominant segments of society is capable of perpetrating cultural harm upon minority groups within the society.

Education theorists began considering the political and ideological nature of school knowledge, "in the early 1970's as a critical response to what can be loosely called the discourse of traditional educational theory" (Giroux in Freire, 1985:xiv). Questioning the assumption of neutrality and objectivity made about school knowledge and education systems, educational theorists began reflecting on an inherently conservative education system that, "emphasizes the routine, rewards rule- governed behaviour, and values conformity over independence"

(Wood, 1984:219). Within this emerging tradition of radical education theory, some of the most meaningful insights into mainstream education have emerged from the reproductive theory school of thought. While varying in the emphases they stress, reproductive theorists share a belief in examining education relationally. In other words, educational systems need to be perceived as, "integrally connected to the cultural, political, and economic institutions of the larger society; institutions that may be strikingly unequal by race, gender, and class" (Apple, 1988:4). Among reproductive theorists, two broad categories emerge. On one hand, there are those who focus upon education's role in reproducing the unequal economic relations that exist in society. On the other hand, cultural reproduction theorists stress the manner in which education maintains the ideological privilege of society's more dominant groups.

For the cultural reproduction theorist, mainstream education serves to maintain existing unequal power relations in society by presenting the 'cultural capital' of the dominant segment of society as 'neutral and objective truth'. Such processes occur overtly and covertly. Overtly, the curriculum of mainstream

education, "takes the form and content of the culture and knowledge of powerful groups and defines it as legitimate knowledge to be preserved and passed on" (Apple, 1982:42). Through the dissemination of this 'selective tradition', schools are capable of socializing and exposing all segments of society to the dominant culture. For example, "the selective tradition dictates that we do not teach, or will selectively reinterpret, serious women's or labour history; yet we do teach elite and military history" (Apple, 1981:115). The resulting damage for minority communities is significantly dangerous because, "the selective transmission of class culture as common culture silences the cultures of the oppressed, and legitimates the present social order as natural and eternal" (Wexler, 1982:279).

Covertly, mainstream education reinforces the existing norms of social behaviour through the hidden curriculum. For Giroux, the sum of the hidden curriculum includes, "the unstated norms, values, and beliefs that are transmitted to students through the underlying structure of meaning in both the formal content as well as the social relations of school and classroom life" (Giroux and

Penna, 1981:211). In other words, students ingest more than educational facts in mainstream schools. Indeed, Bernstein argues that schools prepare students to become 'good' industrial workers by, "stressing a respect for authority, punctuality, cleanliness, docility, and conformity" (Ibid, 1981:217).

Furthermore, society's hierarchical authority structure is internalized by students through schools. Indeed, "the child learns that the teacher is the authoritative person in the classroom, but that she is subordinate to a principal" (Ibid, 1981:217). As a method of indoctrinating the labour force of the future, the hidden curriculum is cited equally by economic reproductive theorists as a means by which existing unequal economic relations within society are maintained.

Like education and cultural reproduction, education's role in the reproduction of existing economic relations occurs in both obvious and discrete fashions. In a more obvious sense, the economic returns individuals receive from their education are closely correlated with class, race, and gender (Apple, 1982:6). In a less obvious fashion, however, education responds to the needs of the dominant economic sectors of society. For Bowles and Gintis, "different

levels of education feed workers into different levels within society's occupational structure" (Bowles and Gintis, 1988:3). In other words, lower educational levels like high school tend to limit student individuality and promote conformity. Similarly, the lower rungs of the occupational ladder require individuals that are rule- following and accustomed to supervision (Ibid, 1988:3). Conversely, higher levels of education teach the skills necessary for success in positions further along the occupational ladder. For the economic reproduction theorist, the central point to be taken from the preceding discussion is the contention that economic institutions can determine society's educational norms.

Certainly, aspects of both the economic and cultural approaches to reproductive theory are necessary to develop a full understanding of the political nature of mainstream education. More important than any single approach, however, is the realization that control over education is a valuable political prize. As well, it is a source of significant political struggle. To this end, a more sophisticated approach to the politics of education in society combines cultural

and economic reproductive theories with the notion of political struggle and characterizes the process as

a product of both reproductive forces- attempts by the dominant class to impose its concept of the world on the mass of youth in school- and democratizing forces- attempts by subordinate groups to shape schools and school expansion to contribute to the development of their cultures (Carnoy, 1989:5).

In other words, educational institutions are not determined exclusively by the economic or cultural norms of the dominant society. Rather, educational institutions are sites for political struggle. Indeed, the attempts of the more dominant segments of society to secure their educational agenda "confront social movements that demand more public resources for their needs and more say in how those resources are to be used" (Ibid, 1989:6). The various outcomes of the political struggles that ensue serve to define the educational system adopted by a given society.

Regardless of the particular approach employed to illuminate the political nature of education, there is agreement over the fact that educational systems that

hope to empower minority cultures must include the content and norms of minority culture through some program of multicultural education.

Multicultural Education

While approaches to multicultural education are numerous and make widely differing assumptions about the needs of minority students, multicultural programs can be placed into two broad categories according to the manner in which they conceptualize the term 'empowerment'. First, there are approaches that stress individual achievement and strive to improve academic success among minority students. Individual achievement approaches "assume that society is sufficiently open, so that once mainstream values and skills have been acquired, individuals can make it" (Sleeter, 1991:11). Conversely, group empowerment approaches, while not underemphasizing individual academic achievement, strive to empower students "to develop a vision of a better society and to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to bring about constructive social change" (Ibid, 1991:12). Unlike the former category of multicultural education, group empowerment approaches address the unequal power relations that exist between

dominant and minority groups within society. Placed on a continuum measuring their ability to empower minority communities, group empowerment models of multicultural education would be considered the most effective. Conversely, individual level approaches to multicultural education are less capable of empowering minority communities. While group empowerment approaches are more significant to the present study, an initial examination of individual achievement approaches makes it possible to better understand upon which grounds criticisms against multicultural education are made.

Some of the more common individual level approaches to multicultural education include the 'education of the culturally different' approach and the 'human relations' approach. Through the former method, schools attempt to educate the culturally different by making "the school adapt in order to reduce home/school discordance" (Young, 1984:420). In other words, the school will incorporate culturally familiar materials to ease the minority student's adoption of the dominant society's values. Under such a model, "cultural diversity is seen as a social reality to be accommodated rather than a resource that has any intrinsic

worth and which should be promoted by the school" (Ibid, 1984:421).

Conversely, the human relations approach to multicultural education, "differs from the previous approach in that it has as its target population all students and seeks to promote in them an appreciation of the value of ethnic and cultural diversity" (Ibid, 1984:.421). At the same time, however, the human relations approach shares with the culturally different approach a tendency to ignore the unequal power relations that exist among minority and dominant groups. As a result, both approaches will stress, "the need for individuals to try to change the attitudes and behaviour of other individuals who thwart loving, harmonious relationships" (Sleeter, 1991:pp.11).

Designated by some observers as 'soft multicultural education', critics have noted that individualistic, achievement oriented multicultural education often serves as a disabler of minority individuals, rather than a source of empowerment. Indeed, some authors contend that, "multicultural education is a sophisticated form of social control and it has the effect of keeping resistance in check [as] it aims to prevent basic changes in the power structure of society"

(Sarup, 1991:31). Since multicultural education, "excludes discussions of power, it takes no note of... differences in access to resources; or discrimination in employment, housing and education" that minority groups often experience. (Ibid, 1991:31). Rather than being a strategy meant to empower minority students, this form of multicultural education, "is really an accommodationist strategy for defusing anger brought about by oppression" (Sleeter, 1991:1). Often expressing cultural difference in tokenistic terms such as the food and clothing choices of various ethnic groups, soft multiculturalism examines neither the causes of minority group marginalization, nor does it generate directions for the future.

More meaningful forms of multiculturalism, while stressing individual achievement, will also raise social group awareness while developing a vision of a more just society. Several approaches to this empowering form of multiculturalism exist. For example, approaches such as the group studies model "explicitly teach students about the history of a target group's oppression and how oppression works today" (Sleeter, 1991:11). Similarly, anti-racist education

programs, "encourage the analysis of racism on the inter- personal, institutional, state and international levels" (Sarup, 1991:33). At the same time, cultural pluralist models of multicultural education stress, "the structural recognition of cultural differences as a way of increasing the power of minority groups" (Young, 1984:423). Accordingly, cultural pluralists recommend the instalment of quota systems for school administrators and teachers, in order that school staff may reflect the ethnic communities they serve. Regardless of the specific approach considered, the latter group of multicultural programs differs from the former category because they share the desire to make significant structural changes to the curriculum and administration of mainstream education.

Accordingly, developing a model for minority student empowerment should include the central elements from the group empowerment approaches to multicultural education. While proponents of individualistic multiculturalism surely act with benevolent intentions, "they see multiculturalism as a plea for toleration, and do not really want to challenge the present dominance of the ethnocentric paradigm" (Sarup, 1991:30). By contrast, any meaningful form of

multicultural education must significantly alter the status quo and include significant changes to the way education departments develop curriculum, perform hiring functions, and include minority communities in the education decision making process.

Framework for Empowering Minority Students

In order to empower minority students through multicultural education, minority cultural materials must be infused into mainstream curriculum while minority communities must be included in educational decision making processes at multiple levels. Furthermore, such changes must be formally guaranteed to ensure continued minority community participation. For Cummins, facilitating such inclusion requires that schools undertake four main structural changes to the manner in which they associate with their minority groups. More specifically, schools must increase the amount of minority cultural and linguistic materials used in schools, guarantee greater community participation in the educational decision making process, and develop pedagogical practices and assessment procedures that are more sensitive to minority cultures (Cummins, 1986:24). As

illustrated in figure 3.1. (next page), the four criteria for empowering minority students are designed to improve mainstream education by altering multiple segments of the education system.

FIGURE 2.1. Strategy for Minority Student Empowerment

Strategy	Goal
Cultural/Linguistic Incorporation	Improve minority student academic achievement
Community Participation	Guarantee continuing community involvement in education
Pedagogy	Enlighten/culturally sensitize teachers
Assessment	Culturally sensitize educational assessment norms

The inclusion of cultural and linguistic materials of minority groups in mainstream education is designed to aid minority students directly in the classroom as "the extent to which students' language and culture are incorporated into the school program constitutes a significant predictor of academic success"

(Ibid, 1986:25). Similarly, increasing the degree of cultural sensitivity in pedagogical practices is a strategy primarily designed to facilitate minority student learning in the classroom. The hiring of minority community members and the multicultural training of existing staff are the primary ways mainstream pedagogical practices can be made more culturally sensitive. Strategies aimed at increasing community involvement in educational decision making and raising cultural sensitivity in student assessment procedures approach mainstream education at the level of governance, both provincial and local. Increasing community involvement in educational governance largely means securing better representation on school boards, which is intended to secure the continued involvement of minority communities in educational governance. Altering traditional minority student assessment paradigms, however, involves encouraging mainstream educators to become advocates for minority students, and locate the reason for minority student failure in, "the power relations between school and communities, and in the mental and cultural disabling of minority students that takes place in classrooms" (Ibid, 1986:30).

The framework for minority student empowerment features a series of strategies aimed at improving multiple facets of mainstream education. While such a framework for action will require that the minority community approach levels of school governance ranging from local school boards to provincial departments of education, it is with the province that the bulk of educational authority rests. For Alberta's Métis community to realize their educational needs, they will be required to negotiate and work closely with Alberta Education. As a result, this study will now turn to a discussion of the role of provinces in Native education to better understand the political context in which Alberta's Métis work to gain a voice in the province's education system.

CHAPTER 3**NATIVE EDUCATION AND CANADA'S PROVINCES**

As a people displaced from the land that they originally settled and occupied, the Red River Métis shared in an experience common to fourth world communities across Canada and the globe. Similar to numerous First Nation communities, the original Métis ethnic community shared experiences characteristic of a people victimized by the processes of colonialism. As victims of colonialism, Canada's Aboriginal communities were displaced by European expansion, isolated and contained through the reserve system, and faced pressures to assimilate into the dominant culture. (Perley, 1993:120). A central means by which pressure to assimilate was brought upon Aboriginal societies was through education. Indeed, "the education provided to First Nations by the government of Canada and its predecessor governments has been an important element in an overall policy of assimilation" (Longboat, 1987:23). For the purposes of the current research, an examination of the role provincial governments have played in the formation of the colonial education system

created for Aboriginal communities in Canada will be the central focus of this chapter.

More specifically, chapter three will approach two distinct issues. First, a theoretical discussion of the concept of colonialism and the characteristics of colonial education will be presented. As their experience differs from that of classically colonized nations, this thesis describes Canada's indigenous populations as internally colonized peoples. As internally colonized peoples, Aboriginal populations of North America came under assimilationist pressures different from those in classically colonized territories. Second, an examination of the role of provincial education departments in the formation of Native education policy in Canada will be presented. This chapter will demonstrate that the pervasive influence of the provinces in Native education reaches beyond provincial schools and into federal and band operated schools. Before examining the role of the provinces in Native education, however, it is first necessary to better understand the elements characteristic of colonialism and colonial education.

Colonialism

Several authors, including Carstens (1971), Patterson (1972), Frideres (1983), Fisher (1981), Devrome (1991), and Perley (1993), have suggested that the history of Canada's Aboriginal communities can be reconstructed in a way which would show parallels with the colonial experience of other indigenous peoples (Patterson, 1972:9). Indeed, the history of Native relations with the Canadian state provides compelling evidence that, "the indigenous peoples of Canada were unquestionably colonized and that their position in Canada today is a direct result of the colonization process" (Frideres, 1983:295).

The classic concept of colonialism was a "conceptual framework that sought to explain the situation of the colonized countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, most specifically by the white European powers during the age of imperialism" (Perley, 1993:119). Simply stated, colonialism refers to one nation-state's "domination over a geographically external political unit" (Ibid,

1993:119). Regardless of the location of the colonial relationship, such nation to nation domination features several common characteristics, including:

... first, forced entry, where the colonizers enter the colony through a forced penetration of the domestic economic and political institutions; second, a process of cultural genocide is begun... during this phase the colonizers execute policies that undermine the traditional colonized culture; third, the beginnings of external administration of colonized institutions by the colonizers; fourth, propagation of a racist ideology that provides the colonizers with the ideological rationale for their subordination of the colonized. (Blauner in Devrome, 1991.pp.16).

The classic colony, however, does exhibit characteristics distinct from those experienced by North America's Native communities. Designated as colonies of conquest, those who colonized many of the territories in Asia, Africa and Latin America, "tended not to migrate with their families, nor did they have intentions of settling there permanently and building schools, hospitals, roads, and other infrastructural bases" (Allahar, 1989:106). Rather, institutions were developed that would facilitate the extraction of surplus value from the colony through the, "bringing together of land, labour, capital, management and technology" (Ibid, 1989:106). Simply stated, "under classical colonialism, colonies were established for exploitation and trade rather than for settlement" (Kelly and

Altbach, 1978:21). As the North American colonies were designated for settlement, the original inhabitants of the territory were to experience different pressures from the influx of permanent European immigrants.

Internal Colonialism

While the characteristics of classic colonialism may aptly describe the asymmetrical power relationship Canada's Aboriginal peoples have with Canada's dominant society, it would be more accurate to characterize the specific form of colonialism experienced by Canada's Aboriginal peoples as internal colonialism. Simply stated, while the classic colony is controlled so that it may be exploited, the process of internal colonialism, "implies the absorption of the colony into one nation-state" (Kelly and Altbach, 1978:23). Specifically, instances of internal colonialism occur within, "dual or plural societies in which a weaker group is oppressed and exploited by a dominant group" (Perley, 1993:119). Unlike the colonies of conquest, territories that became internal colonies were initially approached for the purpose of settlement. In colonies of settlement, colonizers would seize the land with the aim of settling and

developing it, and living there on a more or less permanent basis" (Allahar, 1989:105).

Like the classically colonized territories, the social and political institutions of North America's Aboriginal peoples gradually became dominated by forces outside of the Aboriginal community. While the internal colonial relationship proved destructive to numerous Aboriginal social institutions, the implementation of a colonial education system was particularly damaging to Aboriginal society. As one of the central weapons used to secure the colonizer's objective of forced assimilation, the development and implementation of a colonial education system has been a critical strategy employed by Canada's dominant society in its attempt to assimilate Native society into the dominant culture.

Colonial Education

Though they are likely to differ in terms of the specific pedagogical institutions and materials they employ, all colonial education systems feature some common characteristics. According to Kelly and Altbach, the colonial

education system usurps traditional educational norms and replaces them with educational institutions and curricula that:

are primarily designed to serve the needs of the colonizer; are detached from indigenous cultures in the languages and the social values taught; emphasize moral instruction and agriculture or some kind of craft or manual labour; and lay beyond the control of the persons or groups being educated (Kelly and Altbach. 1978.).

In its most harmless form, a colonial education will be largely irrelevant to the recipient community. In the worst case, however, a colonial education system can serve to facilitate the breakdown of the social fabric of indigenous communities. For Aboriginal communities in the territory that would become Canada, the effects of the colonial education system they received were not so benign.

While the educational agents for Aboriginal communities changed during the history of Native education in Canada, the objective of all Native education has consistently been assimilation, or "the extinction of the Indians as Indians" (Miller, 1987:3). The central colonial educators have included various church organizations, as well as federal and provincial governments. Similarly,

Canada's Aboriginal communities have been moved between various educational authorities. For some of Canada's Métis communities, this meant receiving the same treaty enforced educational considerations as status- Indians³. For the majority of Métis communities, however, their children received the education offered by provincial schools. Besides Canada's Métis communities, however, the most recent trends suggest that large numbers of status Indian students attend provincial schools. In fact, as of the academic year 1991/92, 46% of status Indian children were enrolled in provincial schools (Canada, 1992:42). Accordingly, the role of the provinces in Native education is essential to this study for two reasons. First, Native children are educated by provincial education systems in far greater numbers than by any other means. More importantly, however, the role of the provinces in Native education must be examined because the bulk of Métis communities have their children educated within provincial education institutions.

³. Beginning with Treaty 3 in 1850, some Métis were given education rights equal to status-Indians. To claim the rights received under the treaty, they had to be admitted by the Indian band signing the treaty and had to accept the designation of Indian. For a complete discussion, please see John Taylor. "An Historical Introduction to Métis Claims in Canada" in The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, pp. 152. Vol. 3 (1). 1983.

The Provinces and Native Education

The scope of provincial involvement in Native education has grown since Confederation in a number of important respects. Initially, provincial jurisdiction over the education of non-Status and Métis individuals stems from section 93 of the Constitution Act, 1867, which clearly states that, "in and for each province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education" (MacPherson, 1991:9). Such jurisdiction covers all residents, with the exception of status Indians living on reserves in the province, who are considered the responsibility of the federal government. Furthermore, the provinces were welcomed into the field of Status Indian education in 1951, when section 114 of the Indian Act was, "revised to allow the federal government to make financial agreements with the provinces and private schools educating non-Indians" (Walton, 1987:6). Since the amendment to the Indian Act, the provincial government has become the educator of the vast majority of Native students.

Canadian provincial governments affect Native education policy in two important respects. In the most obvious sense, provincial education policy

affects Native origin students when such students attend provincially operated schools. This fact becomes more important, however, when one recalls that the majority of Native origin students, (Status, non-Status, and Métis), are currently enrolled in provincial institutions. In a more covert way, however, Native education is also affected by the pervasiveness of provincial education materials utilized in band-operated and federal schools. Since, however, the overwhelming majority of Métis students are enrolled in provincial schools, the primary concern of this study is the direct effect provincial schools have upon Native communities, and the degree to which Native communities have been able to participate in provincial educational decision making processes.

Direct Provincial Influence

Although it must be stressed that there is variation in the degree to which individual provinces employ Native educational content for their Native students, the overall incidence of such programs must depend upon the degree to which communities of Native origin are able to participate in and affect the political process within the provincial education structure. While any specific provision

for improving Native cultural content within a given province's schools is significant in itself, it would seem that establishing avenues and structures of participation for Native communities is a key prerequisite to securing sustained participation within a given provincial education system. Thus far, the collective experience of various Native communities dealing with education officials of Canadian provinces suggests that accommodating the needs of Native students and developing mechanisms for their improved participation in education policy development is not a provincial priority. Indeed, unlike the relatively strong influence that status-Indians hold in the field of education policy through their interaction with the federal government, "the role of Indians in the formation and implementation of education policy in most Canadian provinces is almost non-existent" (MacPherson, 1991:10).

Initially, it is important to understand that Métis and non-Status communities with students in provincial schools suffer from a lack of official recognition that immediately limits the ways in which these communities are able to facilitate beneficial educational change. While status-Indian communities in

band-operated or federal schools have been able to form band advisory committees, regional education authorities, or even Aboriginal school boards (in the case of the Nisga'a and James Bay Cree), Aboriginal communities must approach participation in the provincial school system much the same as parents from Canada's dominant society. Such avenues typically include becoming, "school trustees, members of parental advisory committees, teachers or teaching assistants, or through parent/teacher contact" (Davis, 1986:34). Although there are no legal provisions restricting Métis and non-Status community participation in these manners, it is still the case that, "Indian and Métis people are proportionately under- represented at all levels of the school system" (Ibid, 1986:34). Unlike their status counterparts, Natives without official recognition, "are totally excluded as groups from even the minimal voice" (Paquette, 1986:11), that is afforded Status Indians.

One must note, however, that differences among provinces exist in terms of the degree to which participation of Natives within the school system will be legally guaranteed. The most common method of securing some degree of

Native involvement in the provincial school system is through guaranteed representation on provincial school boards. As of 1988, British Columbia, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and New Brunswick had legislation in place to have Natives on school boards (Assembly of First Nations, 1988a:65).

Unfortunately, however, no province allows such guaranteed seats to exceed more than 2, regardless of the number of Native students within the school district. It is usually the case that, "the number of such Indian trustees was keyed to the number of status- Indians from reserves actually enrolled in board or district schools" (Paquette, 1986:10); the number of Métis students enrolled has no bearing upon school board representation. To highlight the importance of such seats to Canada's Native communities in their quest for improved Native control of Native education, the Assembly of First Nations study, entitled Tradition and Education, insisted that, "an equitable representation of First Nations members on provincial school boards should be mandated by law" (Assembly of First Nations, 1988b:98). While Status Indian communities are still far from achieving all their educational aspirations, formal structures guaranteeing involvement have been even slower in coming for non-Status and Métis groups in Canada.

Indeed, it would seem that this lack of formal recognition is the central challenge facing Native groups without official status. Canadian provinces have consistently resisted formal provisions that would legally ensure greater participation by Native communities in the formation of education policy. Instead, the provinces have made special arrangements for Native students unilaterally, without creating structures that would guarantee the continued input of Native communities. For example, a province that has a school district with a significant number of Métis students may, "create school districts which are de facto Métis districts because of the nature of their boundaries, but which are in theory much the same as other school districts in form and function" (Paquette, 1986:17). Such was the case in the province of Alberta, where the Northlands School District was created, covering a large proportion of that province's northern region. In terms of the funding of the school board, or provisions guaranteeing a degree of Métis or non-Status community involvement, the Northlands School District mirrored other Alberta school boards in that no

methods of Native participation were formalized. Native involvement still depended upon the acquiescence of the provincial government.

Native communities of many provinces share similar experiences of frustration when attempting to create formalized structures that would guarantee their participation in the planning of provincial education. In Saskatchewan, for example, conditions similar to Alberta exist where, while the provincial government has attempted some programs and initiatives towards the goal of improving the education of Natives, they have resisted conceding formal recognition to Native communities that would guarantee their continued involvement. Kenn Whyte, a Métis from Saskatchewan, speaks of the difficulty encountered when attempting to secure formalized continued involvement in the education process for Native communities:

We have run into a brick wall in even establishing a meaningful dialogue with representatives of the majority society on the issues of alternative structures where we, the Métis and non-Status Indians ourselves, might decide on what kind of people we would like to become... we haven't any meaningful voice in answering this question, let alone any structures where we might answer this question ourselves. (Whyte, 1982:26).

Without formal guidelines that ensure the continued involvement of Native communities in the process of forming provincial education policy, meaningful improvement in the formation of education policy cannot be assured.

Furthermore, without an increase in the degree to which Native communities become involved in the formation of education policy, the goal of developing educational materials culturally sensitive to Native society will be more difficult to attain. At present, the dictates of provincial education departments are beyond the influence of Native communities, as groups. More surprising, perhaps, is the degree to which the provincial education norms extend beyond their own systems and reach into federal and band-operated schools.

Indirect Provincial Influence

Provincial curriculum and evaluative guidelines are employed to a large extent in each respective province's federal day schools and band-operated schools. The central reason for the abundance of provincial educational resources in band-operated and federal schools lies in the fact that the federal government, or Indian and Northern Affairs Canada to be more specific, are not

experts in the field of education. Indeed, as Longboat points out, INAC, "has neither the structural capabilities nor the qualified personnel to deliver these services" (Longboat, 1987:35). Furthermore, INAC avoids direct involvement in educational planning, becoming involved in "the educational content of Natives only to the extent it is absolutely necessary and, when the situation arises, they in turn make use of provincial resources to the greatest extent possible" (Diamond, 1987:89). Federal educational strategies are driven by the consensus that, "the curriculum created by the provincial government is readily available and should be utilized" (Matthew, 1990:99). While such observations do not bode well for the perceived commitment made by the federal government in the field of Native education, federal schools are not alone in their implementation of provincial curriculum. Indeed, large numbers of band-operated schools also combine provincial curriculum with resources created within the greater Aboriginal community.

One study, examining the extent to which federal and band-operated schools in Ontario utilize provincial educational materials, revealed less than

staggering differences between the two school options in this regard. More specifically, Brady found that:

71.4% of the federal and 62.5% of the First Nations schools surveyed made use of provincial documents as the basis for at least part of their instructional programs... In addition, 84.6% of the First Nations schools surveyed and 85.7% of their federal counterparts indicated that they made use of provincial curriculum resource material (Brady, 1991:68).

Indeed, the scope of provincial involvement in Native education grows even larger when one considers the specific resourcing and support roles that the preceding statistics reflect. Far from insignificant tasks, provincial governments are involved in several core tasks within federal and band-operated schools, to include, "the training of teachers and school administrators for Indian schools, the school curriculum, the organization of the school academic program, the material used to evaluate students, and the selection of texts and teaching materials" (MacPherson, 1991:10).

Accordingly, when one speaks of the gains made by Canada's Native community in gaining control of their education, one must remember that, even

in most band-operated schools, educational influences from Canada's dominant society do manage to penetrate to varying degrees. One can imagine, then, the degree to which Native students enrolled in provincial schools are affected by provincial educational practices. More importantly, however, while the degree of formalized access to educational control differs between status and non-status Native groups within Canada, the relatively superior power of status groups to influence change in education policy should not be overstated.

Three important considerations arise from our brief discussion of the role provinces play in educating their Native populations. First, under section (93) of the Constitution Act, Canadian provinces are granted exclusive control of education policy within their borders. As a result, provincial governments are not legally obligated to make any special arrangements for the purpose of better accommodating their Native communities, nor would it be an easy task for Native communities across Canada to push for the instalment of uniformity in Native education policy among Canadian provinces. In dealing with their respective provincial governments, Native communities that make use of provincial schools

are largely forced to strive for improved involvement by applying pressure on the individual province in question. Concerted action across provincial borders, as is practised by the Assembly of First Nations in their dealings with the federal government, is not possible.

The second important consideration, related to and a result of the first, is the fact that, while various provinces have attempted different approaches aimed at improving education for their Native constituents, no Canadian province has been eager to formalize the Native role in the production of provincial education policy. While measures to accommodate Native students may, indeed, have been beneficial to the Native communities in question, guaranteed involvement has yet to be offered. Under section (93) of the Constitution Act, Canadian provinces are not obligated to do so. Until Native involvement in the formation of education policy is guaranteed and formalized within Canadian provinces, Native communities must rely on the goodwill of individual provinces, and meaningful change will be more difficult to achieve.

The most important consideration arising from this initial discussion of the provincial role in Native education policy should be a more complete realization of the scope of provincial involvement in this policy area. The provincial governments of Canada are central venues for the dissemination of Native education policy that is largely beyond the control of affected Native communities. While attempting to create beneficial change at the federal level is important, it would appear that the provincial level should be the focus for Native communities in their struggle to be included in the formation of education policy.

The education of Native communities by Euro- Canadian institutions has consistently featured assimilationist objectives. The institutions responsible for the delivery of Native education and the means by which education has been provided to Native communities, however, have varied since the first Aboriginal contact with Euro- Canadians. Similarly, the educational entitlements of different Native communities have also varied through the last four centuries. The fact that all Native communities have been victimized by a colonial education system, however, has not been varied. Whether under the jurisdiction of the church,

federal governments, or provincial governments, Native communities were subjected to a colonial education system the moment their traditional education systems were replaced by a pedagogical regime that was controlled outside their community and was not designed to respond to the needs of their community.

In recent decades, some Native communities have escaped the colonial relationship with Canada's dominant society, and have secured a degree of control over their community's education. While any such gains are commendable, most progress towards the goal of 'Indian control of Indian education' has been realized by status- Indian communities in their negotiations with the federal government. Falling under provincial jurisdiction, Canada's Métis communities have been considered entitled to no special consideration as a distinct group. Still, Métis communities in some provinces have been given a stronger voice in the governance of the education of their children. However, the degree to which the needs of Métis communities have been incorporated into provincial curriculums varies between jurisdictions. As a result, the strategies and goals that Métis communities possess will similarly vary throughout the

country. Accordingly, this study will sharpen its focus and proceed with an examination of the educational needs of minority groups like Alberta's Métis and the strategies they have employed to gain inclusion into Alberta's educational decision making process.

CHAPTER 4**THE MÉTIS NATIONS OF ALBERTA:****THE POLITICS OF INFLUENCING MAINSTREAM EDUCATION**

Chapter two attempted to provide a broad theoretical framework for understanding the central components necessary for mainstream education to empower minority students. Emerging from that discussion was the idea that empowering mainstream education systems means using more minority cultural materials in school, encouraging greater minority community participation in the educational decision making process, and developing pedagogical practices more sensitive to minority cultures. The discussion also demonstrated that the specific methods that could be used to reach such goals were numerous. The central purpose of this chapter will be to focus on the specific strategies that Alberta's Métis community has employed to make mainstream education more sensitive to the needs of the Métis community and to examine the political context within which the M.N.A operates.

Chapter four will examine the strategies Alberta's Métis community have used to affect change in mainstream education by approaching three distinct issues. First, a clear discussion of the specific educational goals and strategies held by Alberta's Métis community will be presented. While the preceding framework provided general educational goals for all minority communities, the concrete goals and strategies of specific communities will differ and must be clearly stated. As well, a brief discussion of the political goals and structure of the M.N.A. will be presented. Second, the Framework Agreement that exists between the government of Alberta and the Métis Nations of Alberta will be examined. The agreement is important to the current research because it regulates the activities of the education sub-committee, which is the central mechanism through which Métis educational strategies are approved for implementation by representatives of the Alberta government and the Métis community. Third, minority education policy positions held by government departments that the M.N.A. work with will be discussed. Such an exploration will create a better understanding of the political environment in which the M.N.A. work towards educational reform. Initially, however, it is essential to

better understand the political evolution of the M.N.A. as well as discuss the specific educational goals that they pursue.

The M.N.A. : Political Organization and Educational Goals

Formerly known as the Métis Association of Alberta, the Métis Nation of Alberta was "established in 1928 in response to the desperate economic and social condition of the Métis in Northern Alberta" (M.N.A., 1994a:1). Today, the M.N.A. claims to represent the political interests of over 60,000 Métis residents of Alberta. The mandate of the M.N.A. states that:

... the M.N.A. is responsible for the development, promotion and enhancement of the Métis way of life in Alberta and for establishing programs and services that will advance Métis culture and ensure the social, economic, and political well-being of the Métis people. (Ibid, 1994a:1).

Representing the interests of the Alberta Métis requires the M.N.A. to provide advocacy functions in areas such as "education, economic development and trade, social services, housing and municipal affairs, agriculture, career development and employment, tourism, and forestry, land and wildlife" (Ibid, 1994a:3).

Developing technical expertise in such diverse policy areas has required the M.N.A. to develop an extensive and well organized political structure.

The M.N.A. has divided the province of Alberta into six zones that receive equal representation. In terms of leadership, the M.N.A. is governed by a board of directors that is comprised of the Association President, six Vice Presidents and six Directors. The Association President is elected every three years by Association members across the province (M.N.A., 1994b:1). The Vice Presidents and Directors are elected from each of the six geographical zones the Association has established in Alberta (Ibid, 1994b:1). Complimenting the Board of Directors are the Regional Councils that are established in each of the six zones. Serving on the Councils are each zone's elected Vice President and a number of elected officials from across the specific zone. As well, each of the six provincial zones has a number of local organizations responsible for articulating community interests to the larger Regional organizations. At present, there are over 70 community level organizations known as Métis locals across Alberta (M.N.A., 1994a:1). Overseeing the internal operations of the Association and ensuring its efficient operation is the M.N.A. Senate.

Comprised of Métis Elders from each of the six zones, the mandate of the Senate is "to be a tribunal to resolve disputes within the organization, in particular questions regarding the interpretation of by-laws and membership" (Ibid, 1994a:1).

As well as politically representing their specific constituency, the M.N.A. has also forged partnerships with a number of corporations and agencies that deliver services to Alberta's Métis community. Specific projects the M.N.A. are involved with include housing corporations, social service agencies, educational foundations, historical societies, and print media services (Ibid, 1994a:3). At present, these projects are at different levels of development. The Métis Education Foundation, for example, is still at the planning stage. At the same time, projects like the Métis Urban Housing Corporation are well underway and currently manage a portfolio of over 800 houses (Ibid, 1994a:2). Most importantly, the vast number of projects undertaken by the M.N.A. tend to substantiate the Association's claim of being "the primary democratically elected representative Métis organization in the province" (M.N.A., 1994b:1). The

present discussion also demonstrates the numerous policy areas the M.N.A. are involved in. As the primary Métis organization in the province, the M.N.A. have developed clear strategies to improve the education their community receives.

Rather than concentrating upon the implementation of broad educational initiatives province-wide, the leadership of Alberta's Métis Nations proceed with the conviction that they must, "be sensitive to and aware of the needs of [their] communities; ... [and] not impose goals on specific communities" (McCullough, 1994). As a result, specific educational projects are often conceived at the community level, through meetings of local M.N.A. chapters. By contrast, the provincial headquarters of the M.N.A. concentrates on three important functions.

First, the central office provides support in the planning and implementation of specific projects that appear potentially beneficial to a given community. Second, the central office serves as an advocate for the Métis community at provincial and national levels by sponsoring province-wide conferences and lobbying provincial and federal government departments for support. As well, the

M.N.A. performs another important leadership function as originator of metapolicies that set a broad educational direction for Alberta's greater Métis community.

The most recent workplan to emerge from the Education Sub-Committee deals with educational goals for the period between December of 1989 and November of 1992, and identifies five central metapolicy objectives, including calls

to promote the design and use of culturally appropriate materials for Métis students; to improve access to literacy programs for Métis people; to increase Métis student participation rates in regular school programs; to improve the Métis student participation rate in regular post secondary and adult education programs; and to improve program planning and coordination of program delivery for Métis students. (M.N.A. Workplan Fact Sheet. 1993).

While numerous objectives are present in these broadly based goals, it appears clear that Alberta's Métis community places priority on working to improve the existing provincial educational system. While the broad goal of improving Métis student participation rates in post-secondary and adult education includes proposals for a study assessing the feasibility of creating a separate Métis educational institution, the study was not given high priority in the most recent

workplan (Ibid. 1993). At the present time, the overwhelming number of Métis educational objectives strive to improve the Métis cultural content and community participation in mainstream education.

Such a trend is evidenced by the type of activities that were implemented by the M.N.A. as strategies to realize their educational goals. While the activities reflect balanced action at local and provincial levels, the various activities do tend to concentrate upon improving mainstream education for Métis students. As illustrated in figure 4.1 on the following page, a cross section of the activities associated with their broad educational goals range from the creation of educational materials for particular communities to negotiations with provincial and federal government departments to secure increased funding.

Though only representing a sample of the many educational strategies that the M.N.A. is currently working on, figure 4.1 does provide a sense of the educational direction in which the M.N.A. are proceeding. More importantly, the current discussion serves to illuminate the important similarities and

differences that exist between the model for minority student empowerment strategies that was presented in the previous chapter and the working strategies adopted by the M.N.A..

Figure 4.1 Educational Goals and Strategies of the M.N.A.

Goal	Strategy
Promote design/use of material sensitive to Métis culture.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Grand Prairie Project: create Métis sensitive learning materials. 2. Proposal for increased funding from Alberta Education and Secretary of State.
Improve access to literacy programs for Métis people.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ongoing monitoring of existing community based literacy programs.
Increase Métis participation rate in regular school.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sponsor Native parent conference. 2. Youth Role Model Project. 3. Lobby for increased funding, various departments within the Government of Alberta.
Improve Métis participation rate in post-secondary and adult education programs.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Study desirability of establishing Métis educational institution. 2. Survey of Métis students in post-secondary institutions.
Improve program planning and program delivery for Métis	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Establish labour market information centres in Zone offices. 2. Ongoing meetings with provincial departments.

(Source: Métis Nations of Alberta Workplan Fact Sheet. 1993).

Clearly, the M.N.A. is committed to increasing the design and incorporation of educational materials sensitive to Métis culture. Much like the first component of the model for minority student empowerment presented in chapter three, the M.N.A. places the highest priority on continuing to, "develop and produce learning materials which promote pride in Métis heritage, culture, values, and language" (M.N.A. Workplan Fact Sheet. 1993). In conjunction with the project mentioned in figure 4.1, the M.N.A. also entertained plans to develop materials aimed at revitalizing the traditional Métis language. More importantly, however, the diversity of projects corresponding to the goal of promoting culturally sensitive education materials involves efforts at both community and provincial levels. Certain projects, such as those that dealt with the design of specific learning resources, were constructed with community input through zone offices. At the same time, the M.N.A. planned to continue to work as an advocate for Alberta's Métis community by representing them in funding negotiations with provincial and federal government departments.

While the M.N.A. considers the three other criteria for minority student empowerment presented in chapter three to be very important, the Métis leadership was not able to commit the same degree of human or financial resources to the goals of improving community participation in mainstream education or improving the teaching and assessment norms of mainstream education. For example, the goal of securing greater community participation in educational governance was designated as a priority by the Métis leadership. At the same time, however, no financial resources could be directed towards the goal's realization. Similarly, the goal of improving the teaching and assessment norms of mainstream education was considered through a proposal to study the desirability of establishing an independent Métis educational institution. Again, however, without a foreseeable means to secure the substantial funding such an institution would require, the M.N.A. has not given this project any priority rating whatsoever. While the realization of such projects would be welcomed by Alberta's Métis community, priority is given to educational proposals that are of immediate benefit to the Métis community and have the best chance of receiving funding from public and/or private sources.

While the potential benefit a given project may have for a given community is a central factor that determines whether or not it will be adopted, issues of funding appear to be the primary consideration when educational strategies are determined. Clearly, one can "develop all the workplans one wants, but you need the resources to implement the programs" (McCullough. 1994). As a result, educational initiatives often must be selected based upon the probability that they will be warmly received by provincial government departments or private funding sources such as cultural foundations or museums. Extremely ambitious strategies like those that call for separate Métis educational institutions are not afforded the same priority as smaller scale strategies because securing funding for such proposals is a more difficult task. A clear example of the type of smaller scale projects that are used as vehicles to improve mainstream education is the Youth Role Model Campaign.

Conceived in 1989, the Youth Role Model campaign continues to be a highly successful strategy aimed at encouraging Métis students to remain in school and improve their academic success in provincial high schools.

Straightforward in its approach, the contest selects one academically successful Métis student each year as a role model for Métis students across the province. (Pentan. 1993). The program was made possible through the combined efforts of the M.N.A. and the Alberta government departments of Advanced Education, Career Development, and Alberta Education. The program was attractive to the respective government departments primarily because it had the potential for success while carrying a relatively low cost. The M.N.A. must take into consideration the reaction that their strategies will evoke from various funding sources, and devise their strategies accordingly. In other words, the goals of the M.N.A. appear to be based upon a compromise between what will benefit the community and what has a realistic chance of receiving funding.(McCullough. 1994).

The M.N.A have developed educational strategies that address each of concerns set out by this study's original framework for minority student empowerment. The organization continues ongoing efforts to create learning materials sensitive to Métis culture. As well, planning continues into the

feasibility of creating independent Métis educational institutions and increasing community participation in the education decision making process. The priority given to their various strategies, however, suggests that the goals that Alberta's Métis strived for were less ambitious than those of the original model. While the highest priority was given to plans to create culturally sensitive learning materials, other important plans were designated as in need of further planning and discussion. To understand the directional choices made by the M.N.A., it is necessary to comprehend the political context the M.N.A. must operate within. As a result, it is necessary to proceed with an examination of the political goals and positions held by the government departments responsible for providing Native education in Alberta. Initially, however, it is necessary to examine the Framework Agreement that regulates the political interaction between the government of Alberta and the province's Métis community.

The Framework Agreement

Alberta's Framework Agreement is a contractual pact between the M.N.A. and the Provincial government. First signed in 1987, the Framework Agreement

is a commitment by the Alberta government to work in concert with the M.N.A. and "promote and facilitate the advancement of Métis people by jointly creating a partnership that will address the needs and aspirations of Métis people" (M.N.A., 1994b:4). Under the terms of the agreement, the Province guarantees Métis input into the development and delivery of government programs and services for Alberta's Métis community in the following areas: career development and education, economic development and tourism, family and social services, environmental protection, and municipal government and housing (Framework Agreement, 1993:2). The Agreement also stipulates that government sectors dealing with health, justice, and culture and recreation may come under the terms of the existing Agreement at some point in the future. In terms of participation in planning the Framework Agreement, the M.N.A. were deeply involved from the beginning of the process. In fact, the M.N.A. made the primary decisions over what government sectors would be included under the Agreement (Sinoto. 1994). Although the Framework Agreement signed in fiscal year 1989-90 is now expired, a new Framework Agreement is nearing completion and is not expected

to feature any significant changes in terms of budget or the political actors involved.

For each government sector identified under the Framework Agreement, the Province and the M.N.A. have established a sub-committee to realize the mission of the Agreement and a Memorandum of Understanding that outlines the roles and responsibilities of various actors on each sub-committee. For every sector named in the Agreement, the corresponding sub-committee features representation from the appropriate Alberta government department, the M.N.A., and a Sector Advisor appointed by the M.N.A.. The current Education Sub-Committee features representatives from the M.N.A. and Alberta Education and the department of Advanced Education and Career Development and Employment working in conjunction to plan the educational strategies and programs that will be employed by Alberta's Métis community. (Framework Agreement. 1990).

The Education Sub-Committee is designed to regulate negotiations for educational reform between the government of Alberta and Alberta's Métis community. To this end, the Memorandum of Understanding (M.O.U.) for the Education Sub- Committee defines the responsibilities of the M.N.A. and government departments charged with responding to the educational needs of the Métis community. The M.O.U. also stipulates the financial commitment that will be contributed to improving education for Métis students. The budget established for the operation of various functions of the Sub-Committee is set at \$150,000, and is supplied through \$75,000 contributions each from Alberta Education and Advanced Education and Career Development and Employment (Sinoto, 1994). Furthermore, amendment of the agreement requires written approval by the M.N.A. and both Alberta government departments.

Structurally, the Education Sub-Committee is composed of a representative from the M.N.A., a Sector Advisor and a Framework Coordinator hired by the M.N.A., and representatives from Alberta Education and Advanced Education and Career Development. In terms of advocating the needs of the Métis

community, the central actor on the sub- committee is the Sector Advisor.

Employed by the association and paid from the budget outlined under the

M.O.U., the sector advisor, "acts as primary resource consultant to the sub- committee and assists the sub-committee in fulfilling its responsibilities"

(Framework Agreement. 1990). More importantly, however, the sector advisor serves as the sub- committee's link with Alberta's entire Métis community.

While the Métis community has fewer influential positions on the sub-committee than the government of Alberta, the present sector advisor characterizes her working relationship with the sub-committee as reasonably cooperative (McCullough. 1994).

Within these organizational parameters, the sub- committee is the lead political mechanism for Educational reform in Alberta. Among the numerous responsibilities held by the sub-committee, the more important ones include

reporting annually on the progress of the initiatives undertaken under the Framework Agreement; promoting the effective use of programs currently available through the Departments of Education, Advanced Education, and Career Development; and recommending the development and implementation of policy and programs in the areas of education, employment and training that are sensitive to, and address the needs of, Métis people (Framework Agreement. 1990).

Of the numerous responsibilities the sub- committee holds, the power to recommend education programs is of the greatest significance to the current research. While the M.N.A. has the sole responsibility for developing educational proposals through annual workplans, the sub- committee has the power to approve or reject the Association's proposals. The most obvious implication that emerges from this initial examination of the Sub-Committee is the fact that the Métis do not plan for educational reform in isolation from representatives of mainstream education.

Indeed, while maintaining good relations with all levels of government is no less than a matter of survival for the educational agenda of the M.N.A. (McCullough. 1994), the fact that government approval is required for all educational initiatives places limits on the directions and strategies the M.N.A. can consider. On the one hand, the current Sector Advisor grants that government officials serving on the sub- committee are sincerely sensitive to the needs of Alberta's Métis community (Ibid. 1994). At the same time, however, past directions and proposals adopted by the committee suggest that government

members of the sub- committee prefer that Agreement workplans concentrate on small scale projects. Without such political limitations, the M.N.A. may have wished to pursue more comprehensive projects, such as the creation of a Métis educational institution. In the political context of the existing Sub- Committee, however, Alberta's Métis community have a minority share in the decision making process that decides their community's educational direction.

Indeed, the political relationship the M.N.A. has established with the government of Alberta under the Framework Agreement poses an interesting paradox. On the one hand, it is clear that government influence on the sub-committee limits the program options that can be pursued by the M.N.A.. At the same time, however, the very existence of the sub-committee and other conditions of the Framework Agreement rely completely upon funding from the provincial departments involved. The M.N.A. has adopted a cooperative approach in its relationship with the provincial government. The organization accepts full funding for the administration of committees designated under the Framework Agreement and allows provincial departments to sit on the committee

that is the Association's highest decision making authority in the field of education. With the M.N.A. relying so heavily upon the acquiescence of numerous provincial government departments, it is essential to develop an understanding of the political positions these departments have on minority education in order to better understand the political context in which Alberta's Métis operate.

The Government of Alberta and Minority Education

Alberta's government departments of Education and Career Development, Advanced Education and Employment play central roles in charting the course of Métis educational reform in Alberta. Both departments contribute one member to the Education Sub-Committee, and both departments share the expense of operating the Sub-Committee equally. Furthermore, both government departments share a common vision of the purpose of the Education Sub-Committee specifically and the role of the government in minority education generally.

Between the two government departments, Alberta Education takes a leading role addressing the needs of Alberta's Métis community (Kowalchuk.1994). For Alberta Education, the \$75,000 contribution to Métis education stipulated in the Framework Agreement is the minimum requirement the department can make to Métis educational programs and materials. In the past four years, some learning materials and education conferences were sponsored by Alberta Education with funds beyond those called for in the Framework Agreement (Ibid. 1994). For Alberta Education, the central purpose of the Education Sub-committee is to inform the M.N.A. of existing government initiatives and programs in education that are at the Métis' disposal (Ibid. 1994). To this end, Alberta Education does not see the Education Sub-Committee as a medium in which to plan large proposals such as Métis controlled schools or guaranteed Métis representation on local school boards. For Alberta Education, the establishment of a Métis school or school board would mean establishing institutions parallel to existing educational structures (Ibid. 1994). According to Alberta Education, the cost of creating parallel educational institutions is not

justified when existing educational institutions and structures are reasonably accessible to Alberta's Métis community (Ibid. 1994).

Instead, Alberta Education advocates the notion that educational institutions situated in Métis communities will evolve into *de facto* Métis institutions through interaction with the surrounding community. Citing the fact that over twenty school boards in Northern Alberta currently have significant Métis representation on local school boards, Alberta Education maintains that current educational institutions are capable of reflecting the interests of the surrounding community (Ibid. 1994). For Alberta Education, the role of the Education Sub-Committee does not include formalizing the inclusion of Métis participation in educational governance or developing proposals for institutions that would operate parallel to existing educational institutions.

Career Development and Advanced Education perceive their role on the Education Sub-Committee much the same as Alberta Education. Stressing the fact that they must serve all Albertans equally, C.D.A.E. concentrate on making

sure the M.N.A. are aware of the various funding and program options the Alberta government offers at the post-secondary level (Sinoto. 1994). Much like Alberta Education, C.D.A.E. contends that locating educational institutions in communities that are 75% Métis forces the institutions to become sensitive to the Métis culture (Ibid. 1994). C.D.A.E. feels that the evolution of this process is discernible by the number of Métis groups and societies that tend to form in such institutions (Ibid. 1994). C.D.A.E. feels that their resources are better spent responding to the particular problems of individual post-secondary institutions rather than developing policies for parallel institutions under the Education Sub-Committee.

Both Alberta Education and C.D.A.E. resist steps to formalize Métis participation in educational governance or create parallel educational institutions for two central reasons. First, the cost of such projects are often beyond the financial capabilities of the M.N.A. and the government departments that sit on the Sub-Committee. While departments like Alberta Education are expected to sponsor Métis educational projects above and beyond the \$75,000 contribution

stipulated in the M.O.U., financial constraints on the department have made such instances rare (Kowalchuk. 1994). More importantly, however, many larger projects like separate Métis schools or guaranteed Métis representation on school boards are beyond the jurisdiction of the Education Sub-Committee (Ibid. 1994). Indeed, adopting such changes in the educational norms of the province would require amendments to the School Act and other pieces of educational legislation. Neither Alberta Education nor C.D.A.E. have the authority to make such changes unilaterally and the Education Sub-Committee is not mandated to address such issues.

Alberta Education and C.D.A.E. have developed clear procedures to address the educational needs of Alberta's Métis community. At present, no resources are used to discuss or develop the feasibility of establishing separate Métis educational institutions or of formalizing Métis participation in educational governance. The current government participators in the Education Sub-committee believe that existing educational institutions are open to Métis participation and are capable of reflecting the Métis culture. As a result, the

government departments named in the Education sub-Committee concentrate upon ensuring that Alberta's Métis community is aware of existing programs and taking full advantage of the educational initiatives the government currently offers.

While the M.N.A. have developed a range of strategies to improve Native education in Alberta, the educational goals and strategies of the M.N.A. appeared less ambitious than those suggested as necessary by the model for minority student empowerment presented in the previous chapter. Similar to the initial model, the M.N.A. was committed to infusing Métis culture into the mainstream education system. However, they did not place as high a priority on goals like establishing separate educational institutions or altering the pedagogical practices of mainstream education. The M.N.A. did not place a high priority on these goals largely because they could not begin to realize them. Hampered by financial and human resource constraints, they chose to adopt goals and strategies that were smaller scale and, therefore, more attractive to potential funders. As well, the influence of the government of Alberta in the M.N.A.'s highest level

educational decision making body further influenced the Association to embrace short term goals. At present, the government departments named in the Education Sub-Committee have neither the financial resources nor the legal jurisdiction to pursue any other educational agenda. While the election of a new government could potentially change the political agreement the M.N.A. have forged with the government of Alberta, neither Alberta Education nor C.D.A.E. foresee the implementation of any significant changes to the Framework Agreement in the near future.

As a result, it appears that the present political structure of the Education Sub-Committee may have reached its limit in terms of its ability to reform mainstream education. As such questions remain, this study must conclude with an analysis of the current political environment and the implications it holds for Métis education in Alberta.

CHAPTER FIVE**CONCLUSION**

In this study, the political process that surrounded educational governance and minority communities was cooperative and progressive though constraining to the Métis' ultimate educational goals. As a result, the M.N.A. have achieved mixed results in their attempt to make mainstream education a tool of empowerment for Métis students. Through the existing Framework Agreement, Alberta's Métis community has made substantial progress in their efforts to reform Alberta's mainstream education system. Several important and successful projects have been implemented, while several others are undergoing important research. Of the latter group, the outcome of ongoing feasibility studies for an independent Métis educational institution is likely the most important development currently in progress for the Métis in terms of education in Alberta. Equally important, however, is the fact that ongoing dialogue between the M.N.A. and the government of Alberta keep the educational needs of Alberta's Métis community on the educational and political agenda of the government of

Alberta and sustains government awareness of the educational concerns the province's Métis constituents hold. Such achievements demonstrate that the M.N.A. have made important strides in their effort to transform mainstream education into a tool of empowerment for Alberta's Métis.

At the same time, however, this study has demonstrated that the M.N.A.'s ability to change mainstream education is limited by a number of factors, and that the educational strategies adopted by the M.N.A. are compromised by government interference and insufficient funding. Métis students are still being exposed to a mainstream curriculum that the Métis community is unable to alter significantly. Furthermore, any participation that the Métis community engages in is presently based solely upon the acquiescence of the Province. Without a guaranteed voice in the governance of Alberta's education system, and without a means to infuse Métis cultural values, beliefs and history into mainstream curriculum, the mainstream education system of Alberta retains more of the characteristics common to a colonial education system than an educational system capable of empowering Alberta's Métis community.

As a result, it is necessary for this study to conclude with an examination of the outstanding goals the M.N.A. must yet realize in order to transform Alberta's mainstream education system into a tool of empowerment. First, however, this chapter will begin with a discussion of the barriers that currently hamper the M.N.A.'s ability to realize their educational agenda.

Barriers to Reform

Both the M.N.A. and the government departments represented on the Education Sub-Committee face constraints that limit their ability to make mainstream education a tool of empowerment for Alberta's Métis community. For the M.N.A., the process of achieving progressive educational reform is slowed by financial shortcomings, a shortage of labour power, and the structure of the Framework Agreement. While both the labour shortage and the Framework Agreement are central elements that limit the effectiveness of the M.N.A., the financial problems of the organization are the central barrier to the enactment of more Métis sensitive educational programs.

The funding stipulated for the Education Sub-Committee does support important functions performed by the Sector Advisor and the Sub-Committee. At the same time, however, none of the budget from the Education Sub-Committee is designated for the development or delivery of educational programs sensitive to Métis needs. Indeed, of the 150 thousand dollar budget allotted to the Sub-Committee, over one third is used to pay the salary and expenses of the Sector Advisor (Memorandum of Understanding. 1990). The remaining funds are used to cover the administrative, meeting, and travel expenses of the Sub- Committee.

The financial resources needed by the Métis to develop and implement educational programs must be sought from other sources. Depending upon the particular education program, financial assistance may be sought from cultural foundations, museum funding sources, or federal and provincial government departments. In fact, the present Sector Advisor is concerned with the fact that too great a proportion of her working hours must be spent attempting to access the dollars necessary to initiate those educational programs (McCullough. 1994).

Without sufficient funding, the most modest of educational programs cannot be

2 of/de 2

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

implemented, let alone those programs that would entail large amounts of funding.

Those programs that do receive funding are not guaranteed to receive continued funding through the Education Sub-Committee. In fact, the funding guaranteed in to the Education Sub-Committee is based upon a contractual agreement that expires within a given time frame. While the present Framework Agreement will be renewed, the Métis of Alberta have no legal guarantee that funding for the Sub-Committee and Sector Advisor will continue. This uncertainty over funding is particularly problematic because many of the proposals adopted in Sub-Committee workplans are long term programs and require assured funding over several years. Among other problems, these financial constraints have served to make more acute the human resource shortage that also acts as a barrier to the effectiveness with which the Association is able to reform mainstream education.

Indeed, the funding available to the Education Sub-Committee provides for the employment of one Sector Advisor; a position that carries multiple responsibilities. The Sector Advisor is designated as the primary consultant to the sub-committee, and is expected to act as advocate for the entire Métis population of Alberta. At the same time, however, much of the time of the Sector Advisor is spent performing tasks not specified in the Memorandum of Understanding. Indeed, while the current Sector Advisor expressed concern over the amount of time she must spend fundraising, a further significant proportion of her time is spent dealing with the concerns of individual Métis students from Métis communities across the province. In other words, the many responsibilities of the Sector Advisor bring into question the degree to which such an individual can be an effective advocate for the Métis on the Sub-Committee. Even if the Sector Advisor did not have these other responsibilities, it would still be difficult for a single individual to represent Alberta's large and diverse Métis population. Such labour shortcomings are partially due to funding shortages, but are also due to the structure of the political relationship the

M.N.A. has arranged with the government of Alberta through the Framework Agreement.

The political relationship the M.N.A. has forged with the province of Alberta is paradoxical in terms of the manner in which it effects the direction of Métis education policy. On the one hand, the province is the organization's largest funding source (McCullough. 1994), and the work of the Sub-Committee is made possible through provincial funding. While federal funds have been accessed in the past, such financing is more difficult to acquire because of more strict federal funding criteria and the fact that federal funding must be competed for with Status and non- Status Indians (Ibid. 1994). At the same time, however, the province presides over the Sub-Committee and prefers that the Committee concentrate on pursuing small scale and incremental reform. As well, the province rarely provides funding beyond that necessary to sustain the Sub-Committee. The government of Alberta does facilitate the discussion of Métis educational reform. However, the financial resources necessary to implement such reform has not been committed and government influence on the Education

Sub-Committee limits the M.N.A.'s ability to adopt more bold educational reform.

Education Alberta and C.D.A.E, however, are equally limited in the degree to which they can make public education more accommodating to their Métis constituents. Both government departments are limited by budget constraints and jurisdictional boundaries that limit the type of educational projects they are capable of pursuing. Under their existing budgets, neither government department has the financial resources to sponsor large educational initiatives beyond the existing Education Sub-Committee. In terms of jurisdiction, comprehensive educational reform like separate Métis schools or guaranteeing Métis representation on school boards would require amendments to educational legislation that neither department is authorized to unilaterally initiate. Under Alberta's existing structure of educational governance, Alberta Education and C.D.A.E. have reached the limit to which they are permitted to influence education policy for Alberta's Métis community.

As a consequence, the political arrangement the M.N.A. has forged with the government of Alberta stands as a barrier to comprehensive educational reform. By channelling the political process of educational reform through government departments that are only capable of incremental reform, the M.N.A. has been forced to pursue more modest educational goals. At the same time, the M.N.A. have succeeded in opening a window into the political process of educational governance in Alberta. The political relationship that constrains the M.N.A. is the same political compromise that has helped the M.N.A. make important improvements to some aspects of public education. Resolving this paradox through the M.N.A.'s ultimate aim of economic self-sufficiency is but one of the outstanding goals the M.N.A. continues to work towards.

Education and The Future

Efforts aimed at continuing to improve mainstream education for Alberta's Métis community are linked to political action on two distinct fronts. On the one hand, the M.N.A. continues to work towards their ultimate goal of political self-determination through some system of self-government. Economic self-

sufficiency would give the M.N.A. the means to pursue a more bold agenda for educational reform. At the same time, however, important work remains within the existing political agreement the M.N.A. has with the government of Alberta.

To this end, the M.N.A. must continue to strive for a greater political voice under the existing Framework Agreement.

Under the current Framework Agreement, the minority of individuals sitting on the Education Sub-Committee represent Alberta's Métis community. Besides the Sector Advisor, Alberta government departments make up the core of the Committee's membership. Furthermore, the continued existence of all Sub-Committees under the Framework Agreement rely upon the acquiescence of the Provincial government. The current Métis influence on educational governance is limited. The influence they have secured has not been formalized by the Province. While Alberta currently resists plans to increase and guarantee Métis participation in educational governance, the M.N.A. must continue to work with the government of Alberta to reach such shorter term goals.

While continued collaboration with the Alberta government is central to improving mainstream education, the most important task of the M.N.A. remains work aimed at achieving economic self-sufficiency and political self-determination. Métis community self-sufficiency is crucial to understanding educational reform because, ultimately, the resources necessary to fund the educational programs the Métis need are going to have to come from within the Métis community itself. As a consequence, the future of Métis education is intimately linked to the greater political struggle for self-determination. However, defining the elements that are needed to achieve Métis self-determination is problematic. As an extremely diverse population, some of the Alberta Métis pursue a more traditional Native lifestyle while others have adopted an urban lifestyle within the dominant society. The success with which the M.N.A. are capable of accommodating these widely differing perspectives within a single conceptualization of self-determination and continuing the struggle for Métis legal recognition will determine the future direction of Métis education in Alberta. While exploring specific models of Métis self-government was beyond the scope of this study, further research in this field is crucial because the

future success of Métis education in Alberta is dependent upon the M.N.A.'s ability to pursue the goal of community self-sufficiency.

REFERENCES

Alberta. 1993. Alberta Framework Agreement.

Alberta. 1990. Memorandum of Understanding for the Education Sub- Committee. Framework Agreement.

Anton Allahar. 1989. Sociology and the Periphery. London: Garamond Press.

M. Apple. 1981. "On Analyzing Hegemony". in (eds.) Giroux, Penna and Pinar: Curriculum and Instruction: Alternatives in Education. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation.

M. Apple. 1982. "Technical Knowledge, Deviance, and the State: The Commodification of Culture". in (ed.) Apple: Education and Power. London: Raitledge and Kegan Press.

M. Apple. 1988. "Values and Politics in the Curriculum". in (ed.) Beyer and Apple: The Curriculum: Problems, Politics, and Possibilities. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Assembly of First Nations. 1988a. Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of our Future. vol. 1. Ottawa: Author.

Assembly of First Nations. 1988b. Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of our Future. vol. 3. Ottawa: Author.

R. Blauner. in R. Devrome. 1991. Indian Education: Resistance To Internal Colonialism. Phd Thesis. University of Alberta.

Patrick Brady. 1991. "An Analysis of Program Delivery Services in First Nations, Federal, and Provincial Schools in Northwestern Ontario". in the Canadian Journal of Native Education Vol. 18 (1).

Patrick Brady. 1992 "Individual or Group Representation: Native Trustees on Boards of Education in Ontario". in the Canadian Journal of Native Education. Vol. 19 (1).

David Boisvert and Keith Turnbull. 1992. "Who Are The Métis". in (ed.) J. Sawchuk. Readings in Aboriginal Studies. Brandon: Bearpaw Press.

S. Bowles and H. Gintis. 1988. "Prologue: The Correspondence Principle". in (ed.) Mike Cole: Bowles and Gintis Revisited. London: The Falner Press.

Canada 1992a. Basic Departmental Data. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

Canada 1992b. Consensus Report on the Constitution: Final Text. Charlottetown.

Canada. 1969. Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy.

P. Carstens. 1971. "Coercion and Change". in (ed.) R.J. Offenberg: Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change and Conflict. Scarborough: Prentice Hall Limited.

Clem Chartier. 1988. In The Best Interest of the Métis Child. Regina: University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre.

P. Chartrand. 1991. "Terms of Division: Problems of "Outside Naming" for Aboriginal People in Canada". in the Journal of Indigenous Studies. Vol. 2 (2).

J. Cummins. 1986. "Empowering Minority Students: A Framework For Intervention". in Harvard Educational Review. Vol 56 (1).

Sydney Davis. 1986. "The Participation of Indian and Métis Parents in the School System". in the Canadian Journal of Native Education. Vol. 13 (2).

Billy Diamond. 1987. "The Cree Experience". in Indian Education in Canada Volume 2: The Challenge. University of B.C. Press. Vancouver.

Patrick Douard. 1983. "Canadian Métis Identity: A Pattern of Evolution". in *Anthropos* (78)

A. Fisher. 1981. "A Colonial Education System: Historical Changes and Schooling in Fort Chipewyan". in *The Canadian Journal of Anthropology*. Vol 2 (1).

Paulo Freire. 1985. *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power and Liberation*. Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey Publishers.

J. Frideres. 1983. *Native People in Canada*. Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada Incorporated.

H. Giroux and A. Penna. 1981. *Social Education in the Classroom: The Dynamics of the Hidden Curriculum*. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation.

Jane Jenson. 1992. "What's in a Name? Nationalist Movements and Public Discourse". Paper presented for a Workshop on Culture and Social Movements. University of California San Diego.

Radha Jhappan. 1992. "A Global Community? Supranational Strategies of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples". Paper presented to the Learned Societies Conference. Charlottetown, P.E.I

D. Jordan. 1986. "Education and the Reclaiming of Identity: Rights and Claims of Canadian Indians, Norwegian Sami, and Australian Aborigines". in J.R. Ponting (ed.). *Arduous Journey Canadian Indians and Decolonialization*.

A. Kienetz. 1988. "Métis Nationalism and the Concept of a Métis Land Base in Canada's Prairie Provinces". in *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*. XV (1-2).

G. Kelly and P. Altbach. 1978. *Education and Colonialism*. New York: Longman Incorporated.

David Long. 1991. "Culture, Ideology, and Militancy: The Movement of Native Indians in Canada, 1969-91". in W.E. Carroll (ed). *Organizing Dissent: Contemporary Social Movements in Theory and Practice*. Toronto: Garmond.

Diana Longboat. 1987. "First Nations Control of Education: The Path to our Survival". in Indian Education in Canada Volume 2: The Challenge. University of B.C. Press. Vancouver.

James MacPherson. 1991. MacPherson Report on Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of our Future. Ottawa.

Nathan Matthew. 1990. "Jurisdiction and Control in First Nations School Evaluation". in the Canadian Journal of Native Education. Vol. 17 (2).

Métis Nations of Alberta. 1994a. The Métis Nations of Alberta: An Overview. Edmonton: Author.

Métis Nations of Alberta. 1994b. Métis Nations of Alberta Fact Sheet. Edmonton: Author.

Métis Nations of Alberta. 1993. Métis Nations of Alberta Workplan Fact Sheet. Edmonton: Author.

J. Miller. 1989. Skyscrapers Hide The Heavens. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

James Paquette. 1986. Aboriginal Self- Government and Education in Canada: Background Paper # 10. Kingston: Ontario Institute of Intergovernmental Relations.

E. Patterson. 1972. "The Colonial Parallel: A View of Indian History". in Ethnohistory. xviii: 1-17.

D. Perley. 1993. "Aboriginal Education in Canada as Internal Colonialism". in Canadian Journal of Native Education. Vol 20 (1).

M. Sarup. 1991. Education and the Ideologies of Racism. Trent: Trentham Books Limited.

Joe Sawchuk. 1992a. "Identities and State Structures". in (ed.) J. Sawchuk. Readings in Aboriginal Studies. Brandon: Bearpaw Press.

Joe Sawchuk. 1992b. "The Métis, Non-Status Indians and the New Aboriginality: Government Influence on Native Political Alliances and Identity" in (ed.) J. Sawchuk *Readings in Aboriginal Studies*. Brandon: Bearpaw Press.

Christine Sleeter. 1991. "Multicultural Education and Empowerment". in C. Sleeter (ed.) *Empowerment Through Multicultural Education*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Carl Urion. 1991. "Changing Academic Discourse About Native Education: Using Two Pairs of Eyes". in the *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. Vol. 18 (2).

Patrick Walton. 1987. "The Native Indian Education Advisory Committee". in the *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. Vol. 14 (2).

S. Weaver. 1990. "New Paradigm in Canadian Indian Policy for the 1990's". in *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. Vol. 22 (3).

P. Wexler. 1982. "Structure, Text and Subject: A Critical Sociology of School Knowledge". in M. Apple (ed.). *Education and Power*. London: Raitledge and Kegan Press.

Kenn Whyte. 1982. "The Development of Curricula/Programs For Indian and Métis People" in the *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. Vol. 9 (2).

George Wood. 1984. "Schooling in a Democracy: Transformation or Reproduction". in *Educational Theory*. Vol. 34 (3).

J. Young. 1984. "Education in a Multicultural Society: What Sort of Education, What Sort of Society". in J. Mallea and J. Young (eds.): *Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education* Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

_____. Interview with Mr. Ken Kowalchuk. Director of the Alberta Native Education Project Alberta Education. December 13/ 1994.

----- Interview with Mr. Fred Sinoto. Career Development and Employment and Advanced Education. December 7/ 1994.

----- Interview with Ms. Betty McCullough. Sector Advisor to the Education Sub- Committee; Framework Agreement. Métis Nations of Alberta. January /1994.

----- Interview with Mr. Jim Pentan. Vice President in Charge of Education, Zone 3 (Southern Alberta). Métis Nations of Alberta. December 12/ 1993.

END

1 5-1 1-9 5

FIN